Liberty

NOT THE DAUGHTER BUT THE MOTHER OF ORDER — PROUDHON

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"For always in thine eyes, O Liberty!
Shines that high light whereby the world is saved;
And though thou slay us, we will trust in thee."
JOHN HAY.

On Picket Duty.

The clericals and capitalists in France shrieking for the liberty of the Jesuit to teach, and the capitalists and clericals in America shrieking for the liberty of the "scab" to work, while both are technically right, do nought but exhibit two phases of one and the same eternally-recurring phenomenon, — the stealing of the livery of heaven to serve the devil in.

If there is any really good thing, thoroughly in line with the fundamental doctrine of this paper, which will surely win first the attention, and then the admiration and assent, of the most thoughtful thousand people in the world, though at the same time it may for the moment shock, horrify, prejudice, madden, and alienate all others, that is the thing which this paper most wants to print, and wants to print most conspicuously. If any one has read the paper year after year and failed to realize this fact, his reading has been to little purpose, and has yielded him a most inadequate conception of the paper's policy and of the essential character of its editor as a man. All criticism of either that does not take into account the intention now so positively declared is of necessity absolutely futile.

When a small and weak minority of the people join in notifying a merchant that, if he deals with their enemies, they will not deal with him, the press angrily denounces their course as "cruel, cowardly, and un-American interference with the rights of the individual"; but, when a large and powerful majority of people, through their chosen representatives, join in notifying a merchant — say, a dealer in postal service — that, if he deals with any one whomsoever, except under restrictions that amount to prohibition, they will impose on him a large fine for each offence, this same press sees nothing in such interference with the rights of the individual, save what is brave, kindly, and American. And yet the aforesaid minority is observing the law of equal liberty which the aforesaid majority is violating.

Dr. Butler, the president of Columbia University, contrasted collectivism with Anarchism in a recent lecture, rejected both as unsound and impossible, and proposed a happy medium which he called institutionalism. The term means nothing — or anything. Collectivism is institutionalism carried to the extreme, or regimentation. Anarchy does not object to institutions *per se;* it insists only that they shall be voluntary. Dr. Butler declared that institutionalism stood for "freedom of speech, a free press, protection of private property, respect for individual rights, and liberty for all." Excellent, excellent. No doubt this is radically different from collectivism, but how is it to be distinguished from Anarchism? If institutionalism stands for nothing else, nothing antagonistic to the things named, it is but another name for Anarchism. If it stands for something else, — aggression, for example, — then of course it is not Anarchistic, but neither is it what its inventor represents it to be. Dr. Butler cannot get rid of Anarchism without stripping his institutionalism of its best (alleged) attributes, — respect for individual rights and equal liberty.

Prof. Jenks, who, according to the New York "Times," "fills the chair of political economy at Cornell University" in Ithaca, told the recent meeting of the Civic Federation that "any attack, direct or indirect, upon the government, except to reform it, since order is essential to growth, is morally as well as legally wrong." This being the case, what is a poor fellow to do who, agreeing with Prof. Jenks that "order is essential to growth," happens to believe also that government is the chief sustaining cause of disorder, and therefore desires to "reform it altogether"? If the author of the remark quoted really *fills* the chair of political economy at Cornell, it must be a very small chair. I venture to say that my friend Henry Bool, of Ithaca, who is engaged in the manufacture of first-class furniture, will agree to build a full-size chair for Cornell, free of charge, if Cornell will undertake to find a man broader than Jeremiah Jenks to fill it.

At one of the sessions of the coal strike commission a priest, Father O'Donnell, being asked by Judge Gray, chairman of the commission, if he believed in boycotts, replied that he believed he had the right not to deal or associate with a person who did something that he did not like or was contrary to his interests. "I go along with you that far," said Judge Gray; "how much further would you go? For instance, have you a right to boycott me, if I should deal or associate with such a person?" "No, sir," answered Father O'Donnell, whereupon Judge Gray declared: "That is right; we draw the line at the same point." This remarkable colloquy shows simply that a judge may be as illogical as a priest. John Smith deals with John Jones, my enemy. In so acting John Smith does something that I do not like, something contrary to my interests. According to Father O'Donnell, I have a right not to deal with John Smith, and I have no right not to deal with John Smith. And Judge Gray agrees with him. The two "draw the line at the same point," and then — turn somersaults across it. Equals in precision, equals in agility, but judge far surpassing priest in the gravity of his buffoonery, these two professionals and their ilk are indispensable to the gaiety of nations.

The Sick God.

In days when men had joy of war,
A God of Battles sped each mortal jar;
The peoples pledged him heart and hand,
From Israel's land to isles afar.

His crimson form, with clang and chime,
Flashed on each murk and murderous meeting-time,
And kings invoked, for rape and raid,
His fearsome aid in rune and rhyme.

On bruise and blood-hole, scar and seam,
On blade and bolt, he flung his fulgid beam:
His haloes rayed the very gore,
And corpses were his glory-gleam.

Often an early King or Queen,
And storied hero onward, knew his sheen;
'Twas glimpsed by Wolfe, by Ney anon,
And Nelson on his blue demesne.

But new light spread. That god's gold nimb
And blazon have waned dimmer and more dim;
Even his flushed form begins to fade,
Till but a shade is left of him.

That modern meditation broke
His spell, that penmen's pleadings dealt a stroke,
Say some; and some that crimes too dire
Did much to mire his crimson cloak.

Yea, seeds of crescive sympathy
Were sown by those more excellent than he,
Long known, though long condemned till then—
The gods of men in amity.

Souls have grown wiers, and thought outbrings
The mournful many-sidedness of things
With foes as friends, enfeebling ires
And fury-fires by gaingivings!

He scarce impassions champions now;
They do and dare, but tensely—pale of brow;
And would they fain uplift the arm
Of that faint form they know not how.

Yet wars arise, though zest grows cold;
Wherefore, at whiles, as 'twere in ancient mould
He looms, bepatched with paint and lath;
But never hath he seemed the old!

Let men rejoice, let men deplore,
The lurid Deity of heretofore
Succumbs to one of saner nod;
The Battle-god is god no more.

Thomas Hardy.

Liberty.

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"In abolishing rent and interest, the last vestiges of old-time slavery, the Revolution abolishes at one stroke the sword of the executioner, the seal of the magistrate, the club of the policeman, the gauge of the exciseman, the erasing-knife of the department clerk, all those insignia of Politics, which young Liberty grinds beneath her heel."—PROUDHON.

☞ The appearance in the editorial column of articles over other signatures than the editor's initial indicates that the editor approves their central purpose and general tenor, though he does not hold himself responsible for every phrase or word. But the appearance in other parts of the paper of articles by the same or other writers by no means indicates that he disapproves them in any respect, such disposition of them being governed largely by motives of convenience.

Important Caution.

Enemies of this paper having taken advantage of its temporary suspension to establish another in the same city under the same name, all postal communications of whatever nature, if intended for the genuine Liberty, should be addressed carefully and plainly to P. O. Box 1312, New York City, all non-postal deliveries should be made at 114 Fifth Avenue, Room 43, and all checks, drafts, and money orders should be drawn to the order of Benj. R. Tucker.

A Proposed Pamphlet.

Numerous correspondents urge the immediate printing, in pamphlet form, of the address on "The Attitude of Anarchism Toward Industrial Combinations" which appeared in the December number of Liberty. The issue of such a pamphlet is contemplated, the price to be five cents per copy, and three dollars per hundred copies. To test the demand, subscriptions are invited for hundred-copy lots. A special rate of two dollars and fifty cents per hundred, carriage paid, will be made to all persons subscribing before February 1, 1903. The publication of the pamphlet depends on the number of subscriptions for hundred-copy lots that may be received during January. Now that the trust question is uppermost in the public mind, it is highly important that the Anarchistic solution should be made readily accessible. Subscription pledges may be addressed to LIBERTY, P. O. Box 1312, NEW YORK CITY.

Two Types: Patriot and Anarchist.

Something more than thirty years ago a young Englishman came to this country to seek his fortune. He was a carpenter by trade, and he settled in the beautiful town of Ithaca, N. Y., possessed only of his tools, his trade, keen native intelligence, and uncommon force of character. By his industry, his honesty, his energy, and his good nature, he speedily gained the confidence of his neighbors, launched one enterprise after another, prospered in them all, and, when, two years ago, he retired from most of them on a modest competence, he was the possessor of one of the largest stores in Ithaca, a busy furniture factory, a farm of considerable proportions, a flourishing dairy business, and very extensive greenhouses of the most modern type, for the production and supply of flowers. A great reader, and taking especial delight in the literature of advanced thought, he arrived in America with marked libertarian tendencies, which steadily developed until, a dozen years ago, as a reader of Liberty, he became an outspoken Anarchist. Since then Anarchism has had no stancher or more vigilant champion than Henry Bool. And in the crisis precipitated by the McKinley tragedy of September, 1901, he, well-nigh single-handed, almost alone even among Anarchists, made heroic efforts to stem the tide of insanity that swept the country. He printed leaflet after leaflet, in editions of thousands of copies, containing well-chosen matter setting forth the true nature of the Anarchistic movement, and spent hundreds of dollars in circulating them among intelligent people. In the madness of the moment many of his old friends turned away, and the leading journal of Ithaca, edited by one of his former intimates now a Republican official, went so far as to recommend his ostracism. But he never flinched, and now his courage and character have restored to him the respect of all those whose respect is to be valued.

Among the onslaughts of which he was the object during and after those days of stress, one, in the shape of an anonymous letter from a patriotic Ithacan, is especially worthy of record, presenting, as it does, an illuminating contrast between the patriotism of the sender and the Anarchism of the recipient. At the request of the editor of Liberty, to whom it had been forwarded for his private perusal, Mr. Bool has consented to its publication.

ITHACA, N. Y., AUG. 14, 1902.

Mr. Henry Bool:

DEAR SIR,—I am in receipt. of. a Pamphlet entitled Liberty Luminants. published by yourself.

I am very glad that you sent me this for it serves to confirm my idea. that this 20th Century is developing a lot of Lunatics. Some of the Type of the slayers of. Garfield, Lincoln, and Mc Kinley, and some of a milder type like yourself.

Your idea of Anarchy. *Viz.:* the absence of all Gov't shows conclusively that you are slowly but surely sliding into the dangerous Class.

If. you should lack sufficient courage to yourself. remove some obnoxous Official, there is no doubt. but your teachings and those of. your ilk. will eventually lead some poor devil. to the Electric Chair. It would be a mistake, for I think the time is not far distant when the Teacher. instead of the dupe, should be hustled into direct contact with about 2000 Volts—Mr Bool. I want to say to you. that when I read Page 67 or certain portions of it, "Rosevelt's revenge Root's Roorbacks" I felt that I would like to experiment with the Water Cure that you speak of „ with you for a subject.

It is but a few years ago that you came to this Country. and City- apparently with nothing. I can remember when you used to come to my back Door. soliciting the framing of. Pictures. It seems to me. that it ill becomes you. to use the language. which you do. as applied to the President of this Country, A Country in which it was- possible for you to acquire the competency. which you evidently posess- in so short a time.

My Great Grand Father was a Soldier in the War of the Reolution, My. Grand Father was a Soldier in the War of 1812. Both did thier duty, thank God- and assisted in thier humble way. in giving the British a good sound licking. and I gave three Years to my Country. during the War of the Rebellion. With all this in view it makes my blood boil. when any individual John Bull. presumes to speak slightingly. or disrespectfully .of. this- the greatest and most glorious Country the Sun shines on- in spite of British- Enmity .and- Jealousy. and especially when such expressions as you use-, comes from one- who has-prospered as you have. under the protection of the-Dear old- Stars and Stripes.

No Mr Bool it wont do - intelligent-people size you up for what you are, A would be disturber of the public peace. An agitator. whose feeble and Insane Vaporings are like the morning Fog- soon dispated by the Sunbeams of intelligence and common-Horse sense. I but echo the idea of hosts - of - people who deplore the fact that you are gradually sinking into a condition of mind, that will eventually lead to a room prepared for such poor unfortunates as you- at Willard. So John, mend your ways - while there is time. perhaps if you would *at once.* return to your native Chalk Cliffs - *dont you know.* and throw your insane ideas Overboard in mid Ocean - you might recover a normal condition of mind—with these few remarks I leave you to your meditations—

Yours Truly - AN AMERICAN BORN CITIZEN.

International War.

The world has been full of fighting for some time; now comes a momentary pause, so far as concerns the chief civilized nations of the temperate zones. Let us take a trial balance to see what goes to profit and loss.

As to the nominal purposes of the wars: Crete will henceforth be governed by its friends, instead of its enemies. Greece, if I remember right, has lost a bit of frontier to Turkey. Cuba will be governed mainly by the Cubans, under an American protectorate; incidentally, the United States has the discredit of a broken pledge under circumstances that furnish no excuse. The Philippines pass from a bad foreign master to another whose treatment of dark-colored races has always hitherto been bad. Doubtless the higher offices in the Philippines will attract a more acceptable class of men than are America's Indian agents; but I wish I could see the assurance that the small offices, which will have most to do with the every-day life of the Filipinos, will be better filled. Porto Rico and Guam have changed owners. Corea is no longer connected with the Chinese empire, nor closed to foreign intercourse; it has become a bone of contention between Japan and Russia, one of the likeliest causes of a new war. Manchuria has two owners instead of one, with a jealous neighbor wanting to fight over it. Formosa, a colony of Chinamen with a large native race on one side of it, is subject to the Japanese. The territorial rights of foreign powers in sundry Chinese cities are slightly extended. A number of missionaries and their Chinese friends are dead; a good deal of their property has been destroyed, and afterward paid for by the destroyers and their neighbors; a few high Chinese officials are degraded or dead; various expiatory ceremonies, supposed to be very impressive to the Chinese mind, have taken place on account of murdered Europeans. The "mutual protectorate" of Italy and Abyssinia has been interrupted by the attempted conquest of Abyssinia and the destruction of a large Italian army. The last important centre of Arab slave-trading power in Africa, the rebellious Egyptian Soudan, has been brought under British control. The western Soudan has passed from a Mohammedan tyrant (about the worst of native rulers) to the French (none of the best of foreign rulers). The Transvaal, formerly under a very corrupt and illiberal government with great possibilities of improvement by experimentation,

will be under a comparatively honest and liberal government with much less chance for beneficial experiment. The Orange River country, formerly the Transvaal's superior, will now be its equal. The price of all these things in soldiers' lives and governmental expenditure of money is matter of official record; the price paid among the population of the seat of war in the way of murder, rape, destruction of property, etc., is partly recorded. Has it paid, on the face of this showing? Would they have done it all, if they could have foreseen the whole outcome? The questions are old. I am writing to ask a different question: Is this the outcome, or the main part of it? Have the wars of the world, since the Cretans lighted the match, resulted mainly in such matters of death, expense, and governmental changes as those I have named?

I think it at least doubtful. I should not hesitate to say that the indirect oppression of war taxes, over and above the fund collected, will cost more than the direct expense of the wars. In like manner I think the indirect tax on life, the indirect effects on government, will amount to more than the direct slaughter and conquest.

A political party which conducts a war expects thereby to gain a longer lease of power, restrained by less opposition, regardless of good administration. This is reckoned to be in itself an evil of war, since office-holding should depend on good service. But a government gains power in this way just like a party. The feeling that it is treason to oppose the government or to try to limit its power grows stronger. Look at the way the United States government was aggrandized by the war of 1861! Such sentiments, having no logical connection with any good service of the government, of course hinder clear thinking on public affairs.

The foremost representative of this feeling is the "old soldier." In his relation to public affairs the old soldier is thoroughly a bad citizen. In his private life — this is my next point. General Sherman's saying that "war is hell" has been getting hackneyed lately. You take several hundred thousand young men, many of them young devils, and put them in hell for a training; do you not think the world will feel it when they come out? We are seeing less of the evils of 1861 in this respect, because the men who came back debauched have mostly died of their habits. But ask grandmother, who remembers, whether the overthrow of the Confederacy was not bought at a heavy expense of the soldier-boys' character. Yet the army of 1861 was reckoned exceptionally respectable. The Philippine army will hardly uphold the record; too many of them come back to make trouble for the police. It has been widely reported as matter of official record, and I have not seen it contradicted, that ten per cent. of that army at one time were under treatment for venereal disease. But probably a patriot would reckon it the clearest proof of the disreputableness of the Philippine army that so many of them had to be punished for praising Czolgosz.

This raises another point — but, before I pass to it, just remember that *vice is contagious.* Now, if you bring together these many thousands; soak them in army life, which has always been notorious as a centre of moral pollution; then turn them loose to carry the pest through the country, — cannot the stupidest board of health predict the result?

But to come back to Czolgosz. From the fifties to the seventies the world was full of wars — Japan, China, India, all Europe, the United States, Mexico, South Africa, I know not what else — and of assassinations of presidents, emperors, shahs, prime ministers, and the like. Then, from the early eighties to the middle of the nineties the world had comparative rest from war, and dignitaries from assassination. Next comes that recrudescence of war which I have been discussing, and with it a most notorious recrudescence of assassination. And in both periods the assassinations have mostly come in or near those countries which had just been at war. The periods of assassination drag a trifle later than the periods of war. Such facts demand attention.

For myself, I see no puzzle in them. The existence of a contagious psychological "war fever," whereby the sight of nations at war makes nations willing to go to war, is notorious. Let this sort of psychological suggestion act on a man whose tendency is to isolated and erratic action, and what can you expect but assassination? The idea of affecting great public interests by a bullet seems to be an essential part of the suggestion, for private murders in the United States decreased during the war period. Perhaps this is because those who have an appetite for slaughter join the army. I should think it likely. STEVEN T. BYINGTON.

Vain Pleas for "Union."

In a recent issue of "The Free Comrade" J. Wm Lloyd made an appeal "for reconciliation and union of all Socialist idealists," and offered a platform upon which all such reformers might stand. What prevented co-operation between Anarchists and the Archistic reformers, he rightly contended, was the element of aggression in the platforms of the latter schools, and, if this were dropped, the obstacle to harmonious and united action would vanish. And he logically suggested the recognition by the aforesaid Archists of the right of individual secession and of the freedom of competition.

We learn from a subsequent number that Mr. Lloyd has received several encouraging replies from representative men. He quotes a few, as follows:

> Ernest Crosby thinks it the word that needs to be spoken, but an ideal whose realization is yet afar off. Bolton Hall says, trenchantly: "Your 'dream' of unity is good—but .... the fact is that but few, as yet, desire liberty either for themselves or others. Most persons are restrictionists and prohibitionists, and have no confidence in freedom, because they think men are bad." Leonard Abbott affirms his acceptance of the principle of free secession as a fundamental right. E. C. Walker likes my programme of the non-advocacy of violence and the fundamental recognition of liberty, but my faith in the promises made by political parties takes his breath. Thos. E. Will, vice-president of Ruskin College and general manager of the Western Co-operative Association, cordially approves the spirit of my move, and says that he also has been working for a reconciliation of Single Taxers and Socialists. .... Chas. H. Kerr and R. B. Kerr, in "Lucifer," avow that International Socialism is already admissive of the doctrines of free secession and the autonomy of the group.

Commenting on these expressions, Mr. Lloyd says that Bolton Hall has put the finger on the true difficulty; and he adds:

> It is distrust of human nature that makes the free individual afraid to join organized collectivity; it is fear of the irresponsible individual that makes the group afraid to drop the affirmation of inclusive authority. And it is the history of human aggression that justifies this fear. And, as long as this fear and its justification continue, human society is impossible. The first step, then, in scientific socialism must be the acceptation by all parties of the principle that each individual must have liberty and opportunity to work out his own ideals in his own way, and that each group of co-operating individuals must have like liberty and opportunity—each and all invading not one the other, each free to secede from any or all the others at any moment of inclination.

Mr. Hall *has* put the case in a nutshell, but Mr. Lloyd misunderstands him. If all reformers desired liberty and had a due comprehension of it, unity would of course be possible — for the very simple reason that they would all be Anarchists. There would be nothing suggestive of compromise or concession on anybody's part in the resultant "basis" of co-operative action. Men who agree naturally work together. Mr. Hall's remark amounts to this—that Socialists and Single Taxers and non-voluntary Communists do not unite with Anarchists, because they are respectively Socialists and Single Taxers and Archistic Communists. Not exactly a wonderful discovery, nor a special (or general) indorsement of Mr. Lloyd's scheme or effort toward unity!

The "first step" indicated by Mr. Lloyd would also be the last. He invites the Archistic reformers to commit suicide, and he calls that compromise! The collectivist who says "Amen!" to his programme is no longer a collectivist. Common ownership of the means of production and exchange for those who voluntarily choose that form of organization, with private enterprise, private capital, and free competition for those who object to collectivism, is not the collectivism of the State Socialists. Communism plus group and *individual* secession is not the Communism favored by the Most-Kropotkine school. And taxation of land values for the benefit of those who consent to apply the "unearned increment" to a common object, with full freedom to remain outside of, or to withdraw at any time from, this pool, is not the Single Tax as taught by George and his followers, including Bolton Hall. Can't Mr. Lloyd see this?

As to his diagnosis of the trouble which divides reformers, it is entirely unsound. It is not distrust of human nature that makes the freedom-loving individual indisposed to join "organized collectivity" — whatever that may mean. It is knowledge and acceptance of human nature as a factor in the situation. The free individual wants freedom, and collective ownership of capital and majority-rule in the production and distribution of property is not freedom. And the free individual holds that collectivism is not necessary either to happiness or to prosperity. He denies that present evils are due to private property or free competition. On the side of the Archistic reformers it is not the fear of the "irresponsible" individual that prompts denial of liberty; it is the unfounded belief that private property in capital (or in the fruits of economic rent, in the case of the Single

Taxers) is incompatible with economic equity and social equality.

Thus the appeal for reconciliation and union is based on two fundamental fallacies. Reconciliation will become possible when either the Archistic or the Anarchistic reformers shall repudiate their present views and embrace those of the opposite side. The collectivist who adopts Mr. Lloyd's free-secession plank *ipso facto* proclaims himself an Anarchist. *À la bonne heure!* More power to the peace-maker's elbow, provided his converts know what they are committing themselves to, and mean to stick to the terms of the capitulation.

But I fear there will be no stampede in Mr. Lloyd's direction, and that his appeal, clearly and intelligently interpreted, will fall on deaf ears. We shall have to worry along without the unity will o' the wisp. S. R.

"We believe," says the New York "Evening Post," "there are many cases in which a union should mend its ways under penalty of being outlawed by society." In another sentence it specifies as one of these many cases the case in which a union is "unreasonable in its stipulations." Undoubtedly, then, the phrase "outlawed by society" is not used by the "Post" in the sense of suppression by law; for the "Post" cannot yet have so far departed from its old-time political philosophy as to advocate legal suppression of everything "unreasonable." Then it must have used this phrase in the sense of ostracism by boycott (if that be not a pleonasm). But the boycott is one of "the besetting sins of unionism" at which the "Post" is continually railing. No sooner does a union declare a boycott than the "Post" brands it as cruel and cowardly. By its own showing, then, the "Post" is itself cruel and cowardly in proposing to boycott certain unions. Evidently the real position of the "Post" is one of hostility to boycotting *by* unions and approval of boycotting *of* unions. It is always a question of whose ox is gored. Some years ago, when the ox chanced to be John Wanamaker's, the "Post's" horns were as sharp as another's. Its moralizings of to-day should always be read in the light of the fact that it once devoted columns, day after day, through weeks and months, to a systematic boycott of certain New York merchants who were so "unreasonable" as to refuse to advertise in its pages. How "cruel"! how "cowardly"! how "un-American"! And yet, comparatively speaking, the "Post" is an honest newspaper. What a reflection on its contemporaries!

In the examination of John Mitchell before the strike commission the question of boycotting received considerable attention. "Does the miners' union sanction boycotting?" Mitchell was asked. He answered that it believed in the right of any man to bestow his patronage as and where he pleased. This did not satisfy the coal trust's attorneys or the commission, and Judge Gray sternly told Mitchell that he was dodging the question. The right to withhold one's patronage, he said, was not in point. Did the miners approve of so using the boycott as to deprive a man of the necessaries of life, and thus condemn him to starvation, etc.? No, answered Mitchell, "emphatically." Of course he was either illogical and inconsistent, or too discreet to tell the whole truth. But were the plutocratic lawyers and the commission less inconsistent? If Judge Gray admits the right to withhold one's patronage, his question was absurd. The effect of such withholding *may* be starvation; that depends on the value of the boycotters' patronage and the anxiety of the merchants in the community to retain it. But, starvation or mere inconvenience, the principle is the same; the boycotters do nothing beyond bestowing their own patronage where they please. The significance which the newspapers and pretended champions of liberty discovered in Judge Gray's austere cross-examination has no real existence. The trouble is that these lawyers, judges, and editors use terms without understanding, and assert principles which they have not the sense or courage to follow to their logical conclusions. A strike, like a boycott, may condemn some people to starvation, but that does not affect the right to strike. The consequences do not concern us in either case; the nature of the act is the controlling consideration. It is gratifying to know that Mr. Gompers and the organ of the American Federation of Labor vigorously and consistently uphold the right of boycotting in its extremest manifestations. *Their* inconsistency appears in loudly and bitterly denouncing the blacklist, which is simply the employer's boycott.

Ernest Crosby, in his magazine, "The Whim," rebukes Lord Wolseley for declaring, in a manual for soldiers, that the man who is unwilling to spy and lie in war had better sheathe his sword forever. Now, of two things one: either Lord Wolseley believes in offensive warfare as a vocation, and then he is to be rebuked chiefly, not for the methods employed in the vocation, but for the vocation itself; or else he believes only in defensive warfare, and then his belief in the admissibility of spying and lying as means thereof cannot be successfully controverted. A witness in a certain political investigation declared to his cross-examiner: "A lie is a false statement made to one entitled to know the truth." It may be questioned whether this is a correct definition of a lie, but it certainly defines with precision an unjustifiable lie. Now, an invader forfeits, by his invasive act, all claim to knowledge of the truth from the invaded, and, if the invaded feels under obligation to acknowledge such claim, he is a pitiable victim of spook-worship. There is abundant opportunity to expose what Mr. Crosby properly calls "the low standard of military honor" without depriving the oppressed of one of their most effective defences against oppression. There are times when to tell the truth is to sink to the foulest depth of cowardice and disgrace.

The Chicago "Public," a paper which I find, on the whole, so admirable that its existence went far higher than anything else to reconcile me to the recent suspension of Liberty, protests very justly against the charge of recantation brought against Mrs. Eddy, the Christian Science leader, because of her recent advice to her healers to allow the employment of physicians in the treatment of infectious and contagious diseases. But the "Public" goes too far in the other direction when it says that Mrs. Eddy was moved to this course by respect for the rights of others. It is only too manifest that Mrs. Eddy's motive was simply fear. Her concession, coming as it did on the heels of an indictment of one of her healers, indicates clearly that she thought it more prudent to retain her grip on the major portion of the income which she obtains by imposture than, by over-reaching, to run a risk of losing it all. She has had no new light respecting the rights of others, and, if regard for these had been her motive, she would not have waited till the moment of danger to take the course to which she now resorts. It must not be inferred that I approve either the indictment of the healer or the law under which he is indicted. For any law that would deprive Mrs. Eddy's patients of their clear right to employ her and her healers to the exclusion of all other physicians I have even greater contempt, if possible, than for Mrs. Eddy herself. But it wearies me not a little to see a usually judicious journal crediting this greedy impostor with generosity and love of justice.

President Roosevelt, in a letter written to a Southerner in defence of his appointment of colored men to office, says: "How any one could have gained the idea that I had said I would not appoint reputable and upright colored men to office when objection was made to them solely on account of their color, I confess I am wholly unable to understand." A later sentence in the same letter reads as follows: "It has been my consistent policy, in every State where their numbers warranted it, to recognize colored men of good repute and standing in making appointments to office." It is a legitimate inference from this last sentence that, in States where their numbers did not warrant it, it has not been the president's policy so to recognize colored men. In other words, in such States it has been his policy to ignore, simply because of the objection to their color, the claims of colored men to office. This being so, it is perfectly easy for any rational person to understand "how any one could have gained the idea" that the president "would not appoint reputable and upright colored men to office when objection was made to them solely on account of their color." If President Roosevelt is "wholly unable to understand" this, he cannot be a wholly rational person. It is rather to be supposed that he simply pretends to be unable to understand it, this supposition harmonizing better with the many incidents in his career which reveal him as a very artful and designing person.

The "Saturday Review," assailing the doctrine that commerce is a peacemaker between nations, thinks to overthrow it simply by establishing the undisputed fact that commercial greed has been the cause of nearly all modern wars. But the two propositions are not antagonistic. In every instance which the "Saturday Review" cites, the trouble originated in governmental effort to place restriction on commerce, this effort being inspired by a desire for commercial advantage. Of course every authori-

tarian restriction is liable to breed a fight for liberty. But how does this controvert the proposition that, given a condition of free trade, the resultant interweaving of interests develops a tendency to preservation of the peace, or the other proposition that the substitution of training in the shop for training in the camp makes man less and less a soldier? If some fanatical autocrat, moved by the spirit of asceticism instead of by the spirit of greed, were to order his subjects to destroy all works of art in their possession, and the entire modern world moved by a feeling of indignation at this act of vandalism, were to unite for the forcible dethronement of this monarch, would the fact establish the doctrine that practice of the fine arts fosters the war spirit?

Speaking of the lease of the Manhattan Railway Company to the Interborough Rapid Transit Company, Mr. August Belmont, one of the directors of the latter, says: "It is believed that this plan, when perfected, will work out a prompt and satisfactory system of interborough transit, both lessor and lessee being thereby engaged in a common effort to stimulate, increase, and develop facilities for transportation rather than — as would have been the case if the properties had remained separate — being engaged largely in the effort to divert traffic the one from the other." If lessor and lessee were pure philanthropists, they doubtless would engage in the "common effort" specified; but, as the Goulds, the Sages, and the Belmonts are reputed to possess the commercial instinct in a more than ordinary degree, it is much more likely that their common effort will be to carry the maximum of passengers in the minimum of space. If so, the people of these boroughs will be no whit the better off for their famous rapid transit system.

One of the lawyers of the "independent" coal operators who exist by the grace of Baer & Co. imprudently referred, in his cross-examination of a witness before the strike commission, to the ideas of "Teddy Roosevelt." He was gravely rebuked by two commissioners, and the lawyer condescendingly said: "We will call him the president of the United States." That's right; the retainers of the benevolent lords of our present feudal system must not be too hasty. The magnates are not ready to take off their masks and dispense with the forms of "popular government." They put their men in, and know them as Teddy, Tommy, Billy, Johnny, etc. They make this one president, that one governor, senator, judge, etc. But appearances must be kept up — for the present. Matters are not quite ripe for proclaiming the reign of "benevolent feudalism." But only "benevolent," Mr. Gheat. The new barons have to profess benevolence; to practise it there is no need at all.

The taming of the rough-rider would make fine material for a bouffe opera. In the 1901 message to congress Roosevelt scolded, lectured, preached, and demanded; in the message of 1902 he was as deferential, and considerate, and careful not to offend congress, as the smooth politician to the manner born. The second message was less impertinent, and it is not for Liberty to encourage presidential impudence and presumption. But in Roosevelt the change of tone betokens, not discretion and respect for propriety, but retreat and surrender to the bosses and plutocratic agents in congress. At one time the trust magnates actually hated and feared him — though the fear was groundless. Now they probably laugh in their sleeves, and consider him quite safe and harmless. Soon they will like him, for a president who can humbug the restive and discontented elements in the Republican and Populist parties is a valuable asset.

M. Georges Lorand quotes in "L'Aurore" from "the 'Outlaw,' of New York, which numbered M. Roosevelt among its collaborators up to the time of his call to the presidency." It is singular that Roosevelt, who began his first message to congress with one of the most hysterical diatribes against Anarchism ever penned,—a diatribe, by the way, which, having passed unheeded by congress, he remembered to forget in his second message,—should have been theretofore a collaborator on a journal so Anarchistic as to lead no less a person than M. Lorand, a well-informed Belgian publicist, to mistake its title, the "Outlook," for the "Outlaw."

Says Ironicus in "Lucifer": "'Socialism is coming.' So are cyclones, earthquakes, and tidal waves. What then? Simply this: things are not good just because they are coming." True enough. But there is an important difference between Socialism and cyclones. The latter are unavoidable; they come regardless of our will. But, if the former comes, it will do so at our invitation. Socialism may come, but it will not come to stay; it will come merely as a visitor, foolishly bidden. We shall be made very uncomfortable before we get rid of our guest, and it will serve us right

---

That immaculate sheet, the New York "Times," which prints "all the news that's fit to print," finds smutty stories fit to print when Mark Twain tells them.

Zola's Spiritual Unity.

The "Conservator" prints a collection of tributes to Zola specially written for it by Oscar Lovell Triggs, Edwin Markham, Francis Howard Williams, Benj. R. Tucker, and the editor, Horace L. Traubel. Mr. Tucker's contribution appears below.

The death of Zola and the impudent presumption of the American press and people in condescending to condone, in view of his later sublimity, what they profess to look upon as his early depravity combine to prompt one to the thought that, if ever a life was spiritually integral, that life was Emile Zola's. Those who split it into two parts, labelling one Hyde and the other Jekyll, thereby show themselves incapable of appreciating the highest heroism. The necessarily conspicuous and overt act for which they glorify Zola, great though it was, shrinks into comparative insignificance beside that obscure and dogged, but gloriously triumphant, struggle of twenty years for which they revile him, and by which his dauntless and indomitable spirit brought a hypocritically unwilling world to its knees, in face of the appalling revelation of its own rottenness, before that unparalleled *epopœia*, which began with "La Fortune des Rougon" and ended with "Dr. Pascal." The greater includes the less, and to the man who had so stubbornly traced the history of the Second Empire in the lives of the Rougon-Macquarts it was an easy and a becoming task to play the part that he did in the history of the Third Republic. His civic achievement in restoring liberty to Dreyfus was but the flowering of his long career as literary warrior and artist, the whole presenting a consistent and unitary growth of essential and high nobility. Whoso admires the beauty of the blossom should have the decency to at least respect the gnarled and knotted trunk through which that beauty came, and even though its own and peerless grandeur be beyond his ken.

A Bishop's Objections to Divorce.

To the Editor of Liberty:

In one of the Godly-Hearst's papers a short time ago there appeared an article by Bishop H. Gabriels on the subject of divorce; and, as I have seen no reply to it in any of the public prints, I wish to call the attention of the readers of Liberty to some of its contentions.

He begins by stating that "divorce is the agent of evil that parts forever hearts which once were welded together by love, but an agent more cruel than death." Without pausing to wonder at the strange position of a bishop who refers to death at one time as "cruel" and at other times as the entrance into a higher and happier life, I will simply note that he errs in saying that divorce is the agent that parts the hearts of those seeking it. The parting had occurred before; else there would be no desire for the divorce. Divorce is sought only by those who no longer find it satisfactory to be together — or at least *one* of the parties concerned finds the union unsatisfactory. It seems, then, that what the bishop really objects to is the parting of the hearts "once welded together by love." In so far as that is concerned, I know of nobody who does not wish the same thing. But that is a condition antedating divorce, and not one caused by it.

Then the bishop says: "Divorce keeps the once beloved, but now hated, near enough to embitter his or her existence, shunned or detested by the very children that owe him their life." Perhaps in this utterance we may find an inkling of *why* divorce is desired; for one (either man or woman) who could change love into hate simply because of a desire on the part of the other to be freed from an unsatisfactory condition of human association would not likely be a very lovable and charming companion—at least to most people. If it were my case, I am sure I would consider it a blessing to have such a person shun and detest me. And I should not have any wish to hate in return, either, for I could see nothing helpful to either of us in such a course. But then, I'm not a bishop.

Let me quote again from the bishop, as follows:

> What can be more dissolvent of human society than to have in its midst men and women, heretofore united by the strongest natural ties, become enemies of each other, expelled from their former homes, widowers or widows of living former partners in wedlock who have contracted new bonds, deprived of the presence of children upon whom they dote, whom to visit they need a warrant of a judge, whom to possess they must go for like roving gypsies or slave-hunting Arabs?

Well, now, such an involved question implies a bad condition of affairs, doesn't it? But let us unroll that wad of verbiage, and see how it looks. Does divorce destroy "natural ties"? Can law make a son or daughter anything else than son or daughter? It can enable a parent to disinherit, cast off, etc., but it cannot destroy the natural relationship. Nor can marriage create, nor divorce destroy, affection.

Nor does it follow that people who are divorced must become "enemies of each other." The affection may lessen, or entirely subside, without any necessity of filling the gap with "hatred." And, if all the divorced people are to be "expelled from their former homes" and deprived of the companionship of their children, and only permitted to see them through "the warrant of a judge," as is implied by the bishop, what becomes of the said homes and children? Does the State take possession of them? I had supposed that divorce settled such questions as between husband and wife, and that whichever of them was deemed entitled to it, and them, was given possession of the home and children. But I may be wrong about that,

for the bishop's implication involves a denial of such a settlement. Possibly the children are killed, as was done in Old Testament times, when women and children were annexed and divorced at the pleasure of the ruler—or bishop. (For one reference, see Numbers 31: 17th and 18th verses.)

On the question of "living former partners" it seems to me there is nothing involved but geography. If the "living former partner" is in China, or Iceland, or any other tangible locality, with no intention of ever returning, it would be wrong, from the standpoint of the good bishop, for the one left behind to marry again; but, if the absent one has gone to heaven or hell, it is all right, as the bishop sees it, for the one left behind to take another "life partner." And yet I am sure that one so neck-deep in "the faith" as the good bishop will not for a moment deny that heaven and hell are localities, and that those who have gone there (however reluctantly) are living. To deny that would be to upset the treasury that draws all the funds; and then how would bishops and other self-appointed agents of an omnipotent power get a living?

The next fear of our good man is that "no one, any longer, where divorce prevails, can account himself sure of the wife of his bosom or of the children of his love." Possibly the bishop's experience has led him to that conclusion, for I will admit that, whether or not divorce prevails, one cannot always feel sure of "the children of his love"; but it seems to me that divorce has nothing whatever to do with the ability of a husband or wife to retain the affection of the other. A continuation of the conditions preceding marriage, when each was careful to be considerate of the feelings and tastes of the other, will do more to kill all desire for divorce than can be effected by all the legislation of all the legislators in all the legislatures on earth. And nothing else yet known will do it. All matters of affection are as entirely outside the realm, and power, of legislation as is the color of one's eyes.

Now we come to the root of the whole matter, as the bishop thinks; and he ought to know, for is he not a bishop? Can you guess what that root-trouble is? Well, I'll tell you. It is—"*the independent interpretation of the scriptures.*" That is the little insect that is eating a hole in the bottom of that old ship called *the human race*, and we will all go to the bottom, sure, unless its borer is broken off—or, at the very least, badly blunted. So, conceding that we must give up the "independent interpretation of the scriptures," who shall do that arduous work for us? And here the friendliness of the good bishop is shown, for he admits, freely and frankly, that the *great Catholic church* is willing to do it, and, in point of fact, is the only agency that *can* do it. That's a severe reflection on Dun and Bradstreet, but I, for one, am willing to turn over to the good bishop and his church my share of the said interpretation. I am forced to admit that I've tried hard to do it for myself—and failed. But can the bishop guarantee success? I fear my faith is not of the stern and rugged Rooseveltian quality, as regards that; for in two adjoining sentences he speaks of "the standard so unflinchingly borne aloft for nineteen centuries by the Catholic church, proclaiming under Leo XIII., as it did under all other popes, that Christian marriage is and must be maintained indissoluble," and yet admits that "the times are no longer when the thunderbolts of the Vatican would succeed in compelling a Lothair, a Philip Augustus, to take back their repudiated queens," etc. No, I should say that the times are not quite the same, for I noticed in the public prints, under date of November 26, an account of a "dispensation" granted to one Miss Hawkes to wed again, after having been divorced! In the old days the popes, it seems, could defy even the Royal Eagles, but nowadays even the Hawkes have divorces! Too bad, too bad! Let us hope that in the next world, if not in this, some way will be provided whereby all people who are miserable as the result of having made unfortunate sexual associations shall be forced to remain in their misery forever. Then we can sing, without interruption, of love and good-will!

In conclusion, let me say that in his very long and perspiring article the good bishop never once speaks of *cause* for divorce. He would prevent all divorce. To him it is better for a woman to bear all kinds of brutality and hardship, if that be the condition which she is in, than that she should be divorced! Well, I am still able to thank Fate that I'm not a bishop.

C.

Consciences of Another Sort.

[Mme. Séverine in "Le Journal."]

In the month of December, 1900, there was at Verdun a young soldier named Petit, in the fifth company of the one hundred and sixty-second of the line.

After having submitted with docility to the preliminaries of military instruction and given proof of subordination and good will, suddenly one fine morning he flatly refused to handle a weapon.

"My conscience," said he, "forbids me to learn to kill my fellows."

There was general stupefaction, for Petit, I repeat, was far from having a wilful disposition.

They objurgated him. They reasoned with him. They threatened him. All to no purpose. He contented himself with shaking his head and formulating his sole reply.

Then they put him in a cell. To his guards he repeated: "See, I undergo this treatment because I do not wish to become a murderer."

He appeared before the court martial of the sixth corps. His attitude remained the same, without bravado; pleading his belief as his excuse.

He was sentenced to three years' imprisonment.

In November, 1901, the soldier Gontaudier, profiting by that provision of the law which relates to those having a family dependent upon them (and by the benevolence of the minister of war), was sent back to his fireside.

His case was one of the most singular.

Having returned from America expressly to participate in the drawing for military service, and being therefore anything but refractory, he had, shortly after August 26, 1895, the date of his incorporation in the army, declined to receive a gun on the ground of conscientious scruples.

It was not his intention to refuse any other duty; he begged to be utilized in administrative or hospital service, at any task, however painful or repulsive.

Military justice inflicted two years' imprisonment upon him. He served them. After which he was sent back to the regiment to complete his period of military service.

Once more they handed him a gun; again he refused it. "My religious convictions," he declared, "cannot be modified in any way."

The dungeon saw him again, and also the court martial. The verdict and the sentence were the same as before. For two more years Gontaudier had an opportunity of reflecting in secret on the difficulty of harmonizing the teachings of the gospel with the commandments of the code.

They viewed the hour of his release with some uneasiness,—the certain repetition of the offence, the hypothesis of a third sentence. It seemed possible that this might last indefinitely, Gontaudier becoming the Latude of Christian perseverance.

On the other hand, the case aroused some feeling, even among the steadiest. There were intercessions, the more remarkable and effective because of their unexpected origin.

The sentence was shortened a little; the original petition was listened to; for the twenty-seven months of service still due Gontaudier was placed in a section of military nurses at Lyons.

There he was surprised by a final release, it having been discovered that he had a family dependent on him. Beside a year of military service, he had served four years in prison!

Thirteen months later, at Belfort, in the barracks of the ninth battalion of foot artillery, a "blue" named Grasselin, born at Giromagny (Haut-Rhin), in 1879, likewise refused to learn the manipulation of cannon.

Here again there had been no premonition of such a decision. At the outset he had complied gracefully with all the requirements, and seemed likely to serve as an example to the undisciplined.

But now he said:

"My conscience forbids me to bear arms against my fellows,—to learn to kill them."

They read to him the articles of the military code dealing with refusal to obey and concluding in the usual way.

He listened to them sadly, without a shadow of bravado.

Then he answered:

"I cannot. Jesus Christ has said: 'Thou shalt not kill. Love one another.' I do not wish to injure others."

They put him in the dungeon. An inquiry was instituted as to his sincerity and responsibility,—whether he was not acting under influences external to his own will.

Atavism and education! His father wrote from Tarare to the commander of the ninth battalion of artillery, declaring that, as an Alsatian and an old soldier of 1870, he denied his son.

Previous tendencies? His employer, M. Martin, of Lyons, had for him nothing but praise, mitigated solely by reproach of his humanitarian and evangelical apostleship. He set apart a portion of his wages for the aid of those poorer than he. "In short, a little mad," excellently concluded the manufacturer.

Mental condition? Grasselin, formerly summoned before the council of revision as too slender, had been placed under observation at the Besançon hospital, from December 22 to January 6, Major Olivier being assigned by the health service for his examination. The latter, in his report, affirmed most positively the perfect health of the subject, both physically and morally. His concluding sentence is worthy of preservation. "The accused simply draws exaggerated inferences from the principles of Christian teaching."

All this was insisted upon before the court martial of the seventh corps, which tried Grasselin on January 28.

They learned what his readings were, not very ordinary for a small farmer: Ecclesiastes, Erckmann-Chatrian, Victor Hugo, Tolstoi.

The presiding judge, Colonel Chrétien, was affable with him. But, when the judge said: "You had no occasion to discuss; you had received an order," the accused replied: "Above my superiors, who are men, there is Christ."

Frédéric Joseph Grasselin was sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

Between his act and its expiation there occurred the Delsol incident, in the thirty-fifth of the line, at Belfort.

Always the same reply:

"No weapon! Nothing with which to kill!"

Sergeant Ribaud, Sergeant-Major Tarby, Adjutant Pelux, Lieutenant Pierrot, Captain Mélinot, Lieutenant-Colonel Rauch, Colonel Souvestre, and even General Dessirier failed to dissuade him. Then they sent for his father, who also vainly implored him to yield.

"Well, what have you to say in your defence?" insisted the presiding judge of the court martial before which Delsol appeared, prior to the trial of Grasselin.

"Nothing. I want no weapon; I do not wish to kill!"

He was sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

On February 8, 1902, in the Recouvrance barracks, at Brest, the soldier Soubigou, of the ninth company of the nineteenth infantry, relative of the senator from Finistère, who had died shortly before, answered Captain Bouchy:

"I do not wish to make use of any murderous weapon capable of destroying one of my fellows. You can keep me until the age of fifty-five, but then you will be obliged to give me back my liberty."

This one, pushing his principles to the extreme, never ate meat, because he did not admit that he had a right to destroy any living creature.

The military tribunal of the eleventh corps, sitting at Nantes, must have decided his case, but I do not know the length of the sentence.

Probably the tariff remained the same,—two years' imprisonment.

Petit, Grasselin, Delsol, and Soubigou, severely punished, are still in prison. I venture to rely on

presidential clemency in their behalf.

A petition in their favor, signed by almost all the members of French peace societies, has been awaiting a favorable moment for presentation. I believe the time has come.

If need be, the president's attention could be called to a curious precedent, an unexpected support,—an opinion emanating from people not exactly famous for their devotion or for their tolerance.

Read.

The Committee of Public Safety decrees that the following circular-letter shall be addressed to the administrative body of the Republic:

"The Anabaptists of France, citizens, have delegated a few of their number to represent to us that their faith and their morality forbid them to bear arms, and to ask that they be employed at some other service in the army.

"Viewing them as simple hearts, and thinking that a good government should utilize all virtues for the common good, we invite you to show toward the Anabaptists the same gentleness that constitutes their character, to see to it that they are not persecuted, and to place them at such service in the army as they may desire to perform,—that of transportation, for instance,—or even to allow them to pay money in lieu of such service.

"COUTHON,
"BAZÈRE,
"HERAULT,
"SAINT-JUST,
"THURIOT,
"ROBESPIERRE."

This suggests some thoughts, coming from an epoch when the Indivisible, struggling against all Europe, made no joke of military service,—an epoch when the Republic, indulgent toward the little, was stern toward the great.

Subsidy as a Tool of Tyranny.

["The Public."]

In his report the postmaster-general describes the mailing rights of periodical publishers under the law as a subsidy. If this is true,—and we agree with the postmaster-general that it is,—the remedy is not what the postmaster-general proposes. He asks for the privilege, practically autocratic, of distributing the subsidy himself. Nothing more dangerous in the way of bureaucracy could be proposed. It is bad enough that "Harper's Magazine," for instance, should receive an enormous postal subsidy, amounting to thousands of dollars a month, while the share of the "Cross Roads Gazette" is only a few cents a week. But, if the postmaster-general were empowered to pick and choose, allowing a slice of the subsidy to this publisher and denying it to that one, the situation would be infinitely worse. If low rates of postage for periodicals are in effect a subsidy to publishers, the remedy is to abolish them. Publishers have no more right to subsidies than farmers have, or coalminers, or hod-carriers. Let a fair estimate be made of the cost of carrying publishers' matter; then let the postage be fixed upon that basis, simply allowing publishers to mail in bulk instead of affixing stamps; and you have a just arrangement, and one which has the merit of curbing the censorship of the American press which the postal department assumes to exercise.

The evil in this matter would not be removed by discriminating between newspapers and magazines, as the postmaster-general also proposes, and carrying the former at one cent a pound and the latter at four cents. Such a distinction would enormously increase the power of the postal autocrat to exclude papers he did not like. All he would need do would be to decide that they are not newspapers, but only magazines. Moreover, a newspaper is no more entitled to a postal subsidy than is a magazine. The postmaster-general is wrong (except from the point of view of paternalism) in advocating on educational grounds a postal subsidy for newspapers as distinguished from magazines. The dissemination of what is called "news" is no more educative—it is often less so—than the circulation of instructive magazines. But, if a distinction of this kind were made, "populistic" weeklies could easily be jammed into the magazine class because they lack current news such as the Associated Press provides, and so be compelled to pay higher postage than their plutocratic competitors. And this doubtless is one of the objects of Postmaster-General Payne's reform.

Is it imagined that the postmaster-general would make no unfair discrimination? Rough experience is a better witness than confiding expectation. Down in Florida there is a paper called "Freedom." Its teachings are not agreeable to the postmaster-general. Otherwise its rights to the mail are the same as every other paper in the country. A year or so ago the department denied it publishers' rates. There was no hearing, no legal process of any kind, no consideration whatever of property rights; nothing but a bureaucratic *ipse dixit*. A hearing was subsequently given at Washington, and the original order was revoked. There had confessedly been no cause whatever for denying ordinary publishers' rights to the paper. Yet meantime the publisher of "Freedom" had been obliged to deposit cash sufficient to cover postage at full third-class rates, as the condition of being allowed to continue the publication. Since the examination was prolonged, the deposit so required was heavy. It would have been enough to necessitate suspension, had not the publisher been well off. Recently the department again attacked this paper. In one of its issues it printed an illustrated description of the town in which it is published, Sea Breeze,—something that has long been common with newspapers. For that reason, and apparently for that reason alone, the department has again denied "Freedom" the publisher's mailing rights. This is only one instance that happens to be unusually prominent, but it is typical. It is an indication of what a corporation tool in the postal department would do, if his opportunities for censorship were broadened.

Fortunately the courts are now intervening to protect publishers from the high-handed policy of the postal bureau. Within the week, in the case of the "Monthly Official Railway List," which was ousted arbitrarily from the mails a year ago, the court of appeals of the District of Columbia has decided that, when a paper is once admitted to second-class privileges, it has a property right therein which cannot be withdrawn except by due process of law. This is good legal doctrine and sound political policy.

The Missing Lady.

["Life."]

The official emblem of the St. Louis Exposition is out, with the following ladies present:

Columbia, Louisiana, Progress, Rectitude, France, Agriculture, Commerce, Art, and Science.

It is understood that Liberty would have attended but that she abhors a crush, the more as she grows older.

Eminently Fitted to Succeed.

["Life's" Educational Bureau.]

My young son, although only eight, already lies like a trooper, gets the best of every other boy at a bargain, fights on the slightest provocation, seems to be naturally cruel, and has no respect for anything. What shall be done with him? *I. O. B.*

So many careers open for your precocious boy that it is extremely difficult to choose, and you will have to wait and let him decide for himself. He might easily be a financier, a lawyer, a politician, a United States senator, or a yellow journalist.

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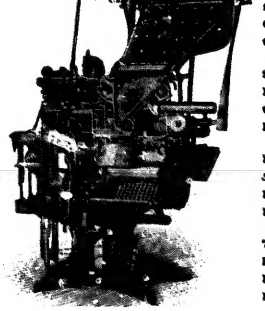

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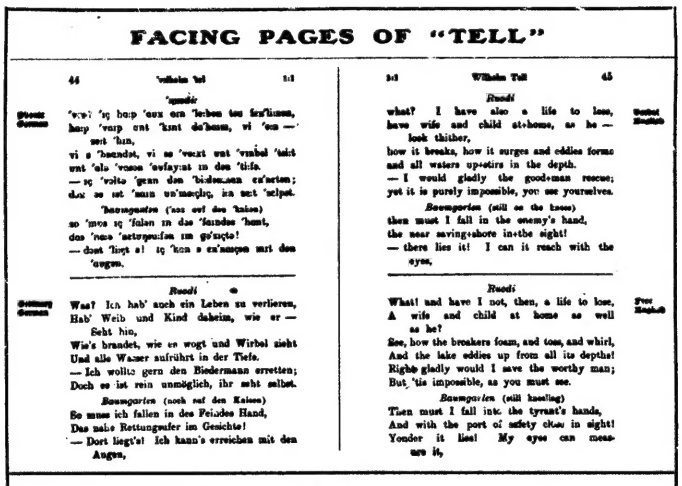

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October, 1900 JAMES GEDDES, Professor of Romance Languages in the University of Boston

UNIVERSAL ALPHABET

In this table, the letters representing the *voiceless* sounds, that is, the sounds produced without vibration of the vocal cords, are *enclosed in brackets* ( ).

ORGANS	Lips	Gums	Palate	Veil	Uvula	Throat
Wholly closed, then opened	b(p)	d(t)	j( )	g(k) c(q)		(ʔ)
Nose passage open	m(ɱ)	n(ɳ)	ɲ(ɲ)	ŋ(ŋ)		
Open at sides (of tongue) only		l(ɭ)	ʎ(ʎ)	l(ɭ)		
Trilled		r(r)			R(ʁ)	Q
So close as to produce friction	v(f) w(ʍ)	z(s) ʒ(ʃ) ẑ(θ) ẑ(ð)		w(ɰ)		ẖ(h) (ɦ)
Rounded			ɥ(ɥ)	w(ʍ)		
			j(ç)	ɣ(x)		
Very close			y ü	u ü		
			i ɨ	ɯ ɯ̈		
Close			ɏ ü	u ü		
			ɪ ɪ̈	ʊ ʊ̈		
Half close			ø ö	o o		
			e ë	ɤ ɤ̈		
Half open			œ ɔ	ɔ ɔ		
			ɛ ɜ	ʌ ʌ		
Open			æ ɐ	ɑ ɒ		
Very open			a ä			

! denotes that the *preceding* sound is relatively *long*
' denotes that the sounds just *after* it are relatively *loud*.
~ denotes that the sound under it is *nasal*, or produced with the passage from throat to nose open.

[ ] denote that the *pitch* of the enclosed sounds is *high*.
[ ] denote that the *pitch* of the enclosed sounds is *low*.
/ denotes that the *pitch* of the preceding sounds *rises*.
\ denotes that the *pitch* of the preceding sounds *falls*.

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whether having private or class instruction, or studying by themselves only, who wish to *start right*, not start wrong, to be *continuously helped and corrected*, not continuously hindered and led astray, to proceed *rapidly*, not at a snail's pace, and to try the theory that *practice makes perfect*.

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